Volume XC No. 12 June 6, 1969 35 cents

commonweal

ST. CHARLES SEMINARY LIBRARY
JUN 3 REC'D
CARTHAGENA STATION, CELINA, OHIO

CONGRESSMAN RICHARD D. McCARTHY

POISON FOR PEACE

A-29120 12-69
ST. CHARLES SEMINARY
LIBRARY
CARTHAGENA STATION
CELINA OH 45822

RETURN OF THE PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE • *MARY DALY*

ON POLITICIZING THE LOWER MIDDLE • *MICHAEL NOVAK*

FRANCE • *STAUGHTON LYND*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS & VIEWS

Busting 5 Beekman

It's all over for the peace community at 5 Beekman Street. The War Resisters League and its cousin organizations—The Resistance, Mobilization to End the War, Workshop in Nonviolence, Catholic Peace Fellowship, etc.—have gone.

They went reluctantly, having been evicted by a landlord who's weary of hippie-types and nervous about the reputation 5 Beekman had acquired as a "peace building."

Peace, you see, is a dirty word, even in New York.

So the peace people have moved bag and baggage to 339 Lafayette Street (Bleecker Street stop on the Lex), and the loft of 5 Beekman is vacant for the first time in 25 years.

It's likely to stay that way. The loft is 21 long stairs above the building's last elevator stop, the ninth floor. It's a cardiac climb and a fire trap. Small chance of renting that space to anyone.

The landlord is out $600-a-month rent. But he's got the insurance men and the lawyers downstairs off his back; that's probably worth more than $600-bucks-per.

The ones really out are the peace people.

They've lost their home and their holy land—where A. J. Muste used to preside; and Bayard Rustin and James Farmer in their SNCC and CORE days; where Dave Dellinger mapped strategy, Tom Cornell, Jim Forest; people like that.

They're out, too, whatever cushion funds they had. The moving and resettlement will cost $20,000, and when you're living virtually hand-to-mouth, that's a lot of scratch.

Finally, the War Resisters League is out its membership cards and address stencils.

With Brinks-like efficiency, 5 Beekman was broken into just before the move. No money was taken, no messages left behind, no graffiti scratched on the wall. The place was turned upside down, furniture and office equipment smashed, files and literature scattered around. But the only things removed were the cards and stencils, that which would cut the War Resisters League off from its 10,000 members and friends across the United States.

This happened the night of May 9. The next day, police arrived, made a cursory inspection (one of the two detectives was said to be openly hostile), and departed. No newspapers sent reporters by. CBS phoned to say it was coming to take pictures, then cancelled. NBC came, filmed the mess, but aired nothing. The *Times,* covering by phone, ran five short paragraphs deep in its Sunday edition.

The implications of the raid were enormous; the lack of police and media interest, incredible—but maybe not surprising.

The War Resisters League immediately got out an alert to other peace groups urging them to increase their security (primary matters: good door locks and duplicate mailing lists, with at least one stored in safe outside location). Then the League began the tedious task of reassembling its own list.

It is asking everyone on its mailing list to send name, address and zip code to its new headquarters—339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y., 10012.

It is also asking contributions. The reassembling of the list and repair of the mailing equipment are expected to cost $5,000.

The Catholic Peace Fellowship and other tenants at 5 Beekman? They were not hit by the trespassers. Why the War Resisters League? Maybe because WRL is the oldest and one of the two largest pacifist groups in the U.S. (founded 1923), and of late has not only been organizing opposition to the war in Vietnam, but counseling on draft resistance, tax resistance and mass nonviolent activities, like the closing of induction centers in Oakland and New York.

Organizations so involved forever risk the wrath of the righteous. Such the War Resisters League knows and can cope with. Hooliganism is something else.

Maury Englander

The morning after at 5 Beekman

Block That Sermon

Eight of the 12 jurors sitting in judgment on 12 of the Milwaukee 14 (two are being tried separately) are Catholics. And the judge in the case, Charles L. Larson, is a God-and-country American Legion official.

Naturally such a person would not be unmindful of the "obligation" of Catholics to attend Mass on the Ascension holyday.

Larson broached the possibility to the Catholic jurors, then shut it off. "The way churches speak out on social issues these days, I don't think you should be exposed to that," Larson declared.

Larson subsequently relented, but on condition that the jurors attend a court-recommended church — one whose priests Larson phoned to advise against preaching on the war or the draft.

A Smile a Day

What the wags are saying (in ascending order of wit):

Dan Herr—"The liturgy of the moment may be the best proof yet offered for the existence of Limbo."

Art Buchwald—"If I know St. Christopher, he's probably watching over the very people who decided he wasn't a saint at all, and he's seeing that no harm comes to them while they're traveling around, spreading the word he doesn't exist. St. Christopher is that kind of guy."

Dick Nixon—"When you hear criticism of the military complex in our country, when you hear what is wrong with the United States and our armed forces, with what we are necessarily doing in the cause of peace and freedom in Vietnam and elsewhere, just remember that history will record that never has a great nation had military forces more dedicated to peace and whose activities made a greater contribution to peace than the United States."

JOHN DEEDY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

California Justice

Long Beach, Calif.

To the Editors: I have just read Gerald Hallworth's "The Myth of the Jury Trial" [April 25]. A discussion of plea bargaining in the article indicates that the author has no practical experience which would justify his statements. His discussion of plea bargaining is unrealistic. A plea of guilty from a defendant following agreement between prosecutor and defense does not rest on a "lie." The writer assumes that this is all done in secret. The facts of the agreement are usually discussed in open court at time of plea. In California, the statute provides that a plea of guilty, which specifies the degree of the crime, can and must be made in open court. And in those cases where the jury has discretion to impose punishment, the plea may specify the punishment to be imposed. If the court and the prosecutor consent, the plea is accepted and judgment is entered in accordance with the plea.

In our jurisdiction the prosecutor does not recommend a sentence. After plea, the matter is sent to the probation officer. He makes an impartial investigation and the matter is sent back to the judge with findings and recommendations of the probation officer. We avoid the unfortunate practice of permitting an advocate to recommend sentence.

There are no pressures asserted to obtain a guilty plea that I know of. The prosecutor does not operate with little information. The time between arrest and guilty plea in felony cases is 60 to 90 days. By that time all information is available to the prosecutor and the court. I know of no prosecutor who relies upon "local police files." The criminal record of a defendant is available in every police station of this state through teletype. It is not the prosecutor's set of facts that goes before the

Continued on page 350

NEWS & VIEWS: 330 **CORRESPONDENCE: 331**
EDITORIALS: 331
ALBANY STOWS ITS FIRST THRONE: *Doris Grumbach* **333**
POISON FOR PEACE: *Richard D. McCarthy* **335**
RETURN OF THE PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE: *Mary Daly* **338**
POLITICIZING THE LOWER-MIDDLE: *Michael Novak* **341**
THE SCREEN: *Philip T. Hartung* **344**
ALMOST MAKING IT: *Staughton Lynd* **345**
BOOKS: **344**

Drawings on Cover I and page 335 by Bob Barcklow

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor*
JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
PETER STEINFELS: *Associate Editor*
PHILIP NOBILE: *Assistant Editor*
ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
MICHAEL NOVAK: *Associate Editor (At Large)* WILFRID SHEED: *Books*
GERALD WEALES: *Drama* PHILIP T. HARTUNG: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
ROBERT BARRAT: *Paris* GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN: *Rome* J. M. CAMERON: *Great Britain*

EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher*
JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Application pending for Second-class postage entry at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and July-September, by Commonweal Publishing Co, 232 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016 MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1969 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.* *US and Canada, $10 a year. Foreign $12. Single copies 35¢.*

THE EMERGENCE OF EMK

Ted Kennedy has always been a cautious sort. His middle-road from boy senator in 1962 to assistant majority leader in 1969 has no trace of maverick footprints. Working for solid but non-abrasive liberal issues like refugees, draft reform and immigration, he grew in Senate wisdom, age and grace without national ripple. With the disappearance of brother Robert (whom he urged not to run in '68) and the reappearance of Richard Nixon, however, the last of the Kennedys is edging nearer and nearer to the newer politics of the left. Radicalized, he is not. But leaning *a sinistra,* he is.

In recent days Kennedy has exposed the ham-handed Pentagon decision to do defense business with a certain Southern firm of dubious hiring practices. Next he called for a slowdown of the American space sprint for the sake of rendezvousing with more earthly problems. What made this plea so uncharacteristic was the time and place, that is, while Apollo 10 was en route and at the dedication of Clark University's Goddard Library (named after rocketry pioneer Robert Goddard). The Kennedy offensive continued without a lull the following day when the high casualty assaults of South Vietnam's Apbia Mountain were attacked on the Senate floor as "senseless and irresponsible." Apparently, Kennedy is going to be heard on issues. Squeezed by comrades McGovern and Muskie on the left and Nixon on the right, he must speak loud and constantly to carve out his own constituency.

Despite a latter-day conversion toward more controversial matters, Edward Kennedy has never lost his head. When McGovern interrupted the new President's honeymoon with a stinging critique of his cunctator tactics, Kennedy kept still. Reacting to Nixon's Eight Points, he was dubious yet calm. Perhaps this is the way to run the pre-presidential gauntlet, avoiding burnt bridges and broken friendships. The irresistible forces that brought Johnson down, however, will not be long satisfied with such delicacy. Thus Robert Kennedy lost out to McCarthy and so might his heir apparent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to some swifter soul.

According to Jules Feiffer, there was a "Good Bobby" who opposed the war and a "Bad Bobby" who said he would support Johnson's re-election. Ted Kennedy also seems to be of two minds. He believes Vietnam is an abomination but somehow refuses to totalize his disgust, or remove himself from the great American myths that gave us the war to end all wars of liberation. Speaking publicly for the first time after the assassination last August 21 at Worcester, Massachusetts, he said: "This war is the tragedy of our generation. Like most of you in the early years of our involvement, I hoped that we would help the South Vietnamese to help themselves. We hoped that a modest program of American advisors, equipment and aid would help the government of South Vietnam to build a nation and a government capable of attracting the support of its own people." What went wrong? Merely the management of the hope or rather the hope itself? How would Kennedy stay us from more Vietnams? He does not suggest.

That day's peroration enlarged on the hollow assumptions shoring up America's national purpose. "For if we are distracted by war," Kennedy went on, "divided by race, deflected from our proper course, we remain a people of great and enduring promise—as Lincoln once said, the last best hope of mankind."

This is not the rhetoric to arouse the disenchanted, nor the words to finish the odyssey.

MASS-PRODUCED HOUSING?

By and large, members of the President's Cabinet are spared certain indignities to which lesser mortals are exposed, including being jeered at in public meetings—or at least they were until the Vietnam war came along. But Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney recently gave a talk before 3,000 delegates from the building trades and found himself roundly booed without even mentioning Vietnam. The reason? Mr. Romney had urged the delegates to put an end to two kinds of restrictive practices: those that increased building costs and those that denied construction jobs to Negroes.

Mr. Romney is not too thin-skinned, if one can judge from his comments on brainwashing during his short-lived Presidential campaign, and the fact that he was booed is not important in itself. But the episode does indicate rather dramatically some of the problems Mr. Romney faces in his campaign to build housing on a mass basis, to say nothing of the difficulties involved in getting black men into the building trades unions which everyone knows about.

There is no faulting Mr. Romney's basic desire to increase government-backed housing sharply. Federal efforts at providing housing for the poor have been almost total failures; indeed, the federal government has demolished more housing than it has built. Further, there is no use calling on private industry alone; it cannot possibly build housing for the poor at present prices—in fact, it never could or did. In theory, the building industry always built for the middle and upper classes, with the expectation that the housing abandoned by them would then fall into the hands of the poor. In fact, the industry simply does not now build enough housing to meet national needs for replacement and expansion, and every year there is less and less "used" housing to filter down to the poor.

Last year, to illustrate the problem, Congress passed a housing bill which called for the construction of 26 million housing units over a 10 year period. Most of the construction would be privately done, with federal subsidies and guarantees. But rising costs of labor, land, materials and interest, plus the impediments of restrictive zoning ordinances and labor practices have crippled the program. At the present rate of production, Mr. Romney says, the nation will fall more than 10 million housing units short of its needs, and at that he may be underestimating rather than exaggerating.

Take, for example, the recent recommendation of the National Committee on Urban Growth, made up of public officials from all levels of government. The United States, the Committee urged, should plan to build 110 cities during the remainder of the twentieth century to help accommodate America's expanding population. Of the proposed cities, 100 would need to accommodate 100,000 persons each and ten should accommodate at least one million persons each. Committee recommendations are based on demographers' estimates that the nation's population will increase by 100 million during the next 30 years. In another comparable estimate, New Jersey's commissioner of urban affairs summed the situation up by saying the U.S. must build the equivalent of 100 Clevelands by the turn of the century.

Even the most casual kind of scrutiny will make it obvious that standard operating procedures in the building industry will not produce housing on the scale that is needed. It is here that Secretary Romney comes in. Mr. Romney's fame, of course, was won in the mass production of automobiles, and he wants to put the talents that served him so well there to work on housing. Simply put, his idea centers on a cooperative effort by public officials, private builders and labor unions to create a massive market within each community for low-income housing and to start building proto-types of dwellings for the poor, using mass production methods to reduce costs.

Is there any chance that Mr. Romney's plan can work? There is a chance, but it requires a thorough reform of a whole industry, an industry which has always been known for its backwardness, including labor and capital in the broad indictment. There is no ques-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion at all as to the need of what Mr. Romney is attempting, and we wish him every success in his efforts. At the same time we must admit that we wouldn't bet much on his chances.

WE GAVE ALREADY

Thus when you give alms, sound no trumpet before you, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be praised by men. Matthew 6:2

Quoting scripture against the opposition is somewhat dirty pool. But the New York Archdiocese response to James Forman's Black Manifesto requires the strongest retort. Although the contentiousness of the reparations demand was bound to nettle even men of good will, nothing under the heavens would justify Cardinal Cooke's cold shoulder to Forman. (Actually, the Cardinal never met with Forman, nor did he even sign the press release denying Church guilt or monies.) It appears Mr. Forman asked the wrong way. His language was downright un-American. Anyways, the Archdiocese does enough for the disadvantaged and "will continue to make every possible effort to secure social justice and true equality before all men."

Funny, we think the Archdiocese could do more than tell Forman and the black poor he represents that it gave already at the office.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

INSTALLATION OF A BISHOP

ALBANY STOWS ITS FIRST THRONE

The Evangelist, house organ of the diocese of Albany, New York, welcomed its new bishop last week with this graphic headline: A WEEKEND FOR HISTORY—OUR SHEPHERD COMES. Tucked inside was "a special, 64-page Installation Supplement," to which the unions, general contractors, banks, funeral homes, oil corporations as well as every parish, college, school and Catholic organization in the diocese contributed expensive good wishes to its new bishop, Edwin B. Broderick, former rector of St. Joseph's, Dunwoodie, and long-time close subordinate to Cardinal Spellman.

It was an historic event, in that it was the first installation in fifty years for the upstate New York diocese, always considered a bedroom suburb or better, a Siberia, by the officials of the Archdiocese. Albany has never had a native son as its bishop; all seven previous "shepherds," except one Syracusan, have been from the big city one hundred and fifty miles to the south of the capitol city.

Some bitterness still clung to the edges of the red-and-gold panoply of this early May installation. The diocese for years has been a place of harsh hierarchical treatment of its young priests and little if any real lay participation. Its priests' senate was known to be an impotent and spineless organization, its recently-formed association of clergy was scorned by the chancery which declared its lack of canonical status as fatal to its existence. Priests active in inner-city work inevitably ran afoul of the city's political machine (Democratic and Catholic) and found themselves quickly and efficiently silenced or exiled.

A year ago a group of laymen and clergy, reflecting dissatisfaction with the four-year-long inactivity and regressive point-of-view of its apostolic administrator, 72-year-old Bishop Maginn (standing in for mortally ill Bishop Scully), formed a Committee on Episcopal Succession and tried to interest then-Archbishop Cooke and Rome's delegate to Washington, Luigi Raimondi, in allowing for some participation in the selection of the new bishop. Albany's Priests' Senate agreed that participation was indeed necessary and good, that the problems of the diocese, grown great during the long period of lassitude, required a special kind of man to put them straight: the Apostolic Administrator informed the Senate, bluntly, that this question was none of their business.

Seven months of letters, all unanswered, resulted at long last in an invitation by the Apostolic Delegate to the officers of CES to visit him in Washington to discuss their suggestions about lay-clergy participation in the selection of a new bishop. Elated that at last there was an ear open to them, William Finin and Father Frank McCloskey flew to Washington, and were received courteously, listened to, and assured that, yes, the Apostolic Delegate would always listen to opinion on this subject, as long as it was a *single* opinion, expressed after long and prayerful thought, and not the voice of "self-appointed groups." The irony of the visitors' elation was brought home two days later in Albany when the new bishop was announced, and it was clear that the Apostolic Delegate had known of this for some time, indeed was in possession of the knowledge as the two trusting souls sat respectfully in his reception room. In cold fury at this evidence of *stylus curiae,* they sent the bill for their trip to the Delegate. They have heard nothing further from him, to date.

Accompanying Bishop Broderick's installation were all the usual medieval appurtenances without which the Church still moves uncertainly in the modern world. The Chancery provided the press with a rich supply of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

releases, including one on How to Address a Bishop (with further data on "how to distinguish him most easily from other clergymen"). Another release described in three closely-typed pages the coat of arms of the new Bishop which, for historical interest alone, I cannot help passing on:

BLAZON

Impaled arms. Dexter: Azure, a beaver holding a crosier erect and in sinister chief a crescent argent (See of Albany). Sinister: Per pale gules and sable, on a fess in between chief two griffins head erased or, in base issuing from the sinister side of the shield an arm fessways holding in the hand argent a cross couped of the third, a trefoil vert between two lozenges ermine. Motto: Abide with us, O Lord.

The ceremony in Albany's old Cathedral was evidence, however, that Bishop Broderick appears to be a man not insensitive to the age difficulties he inherits and the inaction he succeeds. Unlike Bishop Maginn who once again last week reiterated to the press his oft-repeated conviction that there were no radical changes on belief and practice made at Vatican II, and that he believed with the French that "the more things change, the more they remain the same," the new Bishop agreed with the liturgists who constructed the Installation Rite (after their first suggestion of an experimental Mass had been turned down in Washington) that the ceremony should be, in the main, simple, significant, and representative.

So the Rite became one with the entrance rite of the Mass of Christ the High Priest, concelebrated with twelve of his priests, not, significantly perhaps, with Cardinal Cooke who was present on the altar. The Cardinal contented himself with presenting the Bishop with his gold shepherd's staff "to shepherd the flock of Christ," and gave the epistle homily which was almost entirely devoted to reminders of the awesome responsibilities of the Pope, the absolute necessity for loyalty of the people and the clergy to him if these were to be carried out for, he said sternly, "to be one with the Church is to be one with the Pope."

The new Bishop's tone was different. Not once did he mention the Pope, the Cardinal, or the principles of sheeply obedience and loyalty in his scholarly and sensitive gospel homily. Instead, he defined his priesthood and the priesthood of his people. Leaning heavily upon Hebrews for his text, he emphasized not the "extraordinary human endowments, still less the mechanical privilege of priestly families or castes," but rather "the common burden and weakness of us all—our *humanity.*" He made clear that he saw his ministry as subject to his own full humanity: "If I were in no sense a flawed, imperfect human being, how could I have compassion and brotherhood with those I serve?" He promised he would "listen" to his people, "learn from" them. He said he was aware of the radical implication of Vatican II's indication that the priesthood "is not limited to the organized ministry of a Bishop and his priests; it extends, in lesser degree, to all the baptised who gather at the Lord's table . . ." He indicated that he thought of himself as about to engage in the mutual, communal work of Christian activity: "The ministry I am undertaking in Albany will sanctify you, the Church, only insofar as I share your life to the fullest extent."

Other signs that Bishop Broderick intends "to confront the afflictions of our common life here in Albany" were contained in the symbolic moments of the rite he approved. The Cathedral throne was removed at his request and a simple brown-wooden chair was substituted. He was not, in the old way, "enthroned," but instead simply seated. On the altar, no longer separated from the people by rail, were seated both bishops, on one side, and on the other, non-Catholic and non-Christian representatives of other faiths. These, and the civic leaders in the front pews, received from him the traditional Greeting in the Kiss of Peace, with *Shalom* substituted for the non-Christian guests. And at the end, as the guests and hierarchy moved slowly off the altar and the new Bishop went down to greet his people, the old apostolic administrator could be seen standing still at the altar, his eyes closed, his lips and fingers moving over his own quiet, private recitation of the rosary.

All the gold, the red solemnity, the twenty-foot banner of coat of arms, the Cardinal's hat and Bishop's staff, the baroque music of ninety voices and fifteen members of a symphony orchestra, the ancient tones of a great organ, all the 2,000 well-dressed persons straining to see the great as well as the black-cassocked clergy, ended in a simple buffet lunch to which everyone, lay and mighty, were invited, and which was served on paper plates and from paper cups in the cafeteria of a nearby parochial high school. It was estimated that the cost of this *agape* was a fraction of the $25,000 rumored to have been spent by the diocese for the clergy to celebrate, two years ago, the elevation of one of its native sons to the archbishopric of Alaska.

Bishop Broderick's brave, humble, and literate homily (he has, in addition to his D.D., a Ph.D in language and literature from Fordham) raised the hopes of many an edge-of-the-road Catholic in his diocese. Long after he had departed on his inevitable and interminable round of confirmations, pastoral visits, and official receptions throughout his extensive diocese, the "vast minority" of hopeful liberals were wondering if indeed the beaver holding the crozier erect (dexter and *not* sinister) is to be a sign of the beginning of genuine renewal under the symbol of human, not just Catholic, brotherhood.

DORIS GRUMBACH

(Doris Grumbach, author and essayist, teaches literature at the College of St. Rose in Albany.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POISON FOR PEACE

A Congressman complains about gas and germ warfare

RICHARD D. McCARTHY

During the past five years three events have aroused the concerns of Americans about the gas and germ warfare activities of the armed services. The first was a series of earthquakes in the Denver area resulting from the pumping of poison wastes from the Rocky Mountain Arsenal into a deep well. Following almost a century of inactivity, Denver experienced over 150 earthquakes from 1962 through 1967. Some of these quakes were strong enough to cause property damage, registering as high as 5 on the Richter scale. Geologists showed that the quakes were the result of the large-scale poison waste disposal at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal. Once the Army began pumping out the well, the quakes stopped.

The second event was the death of 6400 sheep in Skull Valley, Utah, next to the Army's Dugway Proving Grounds. An accidental discharge of a deadly nerve gas, VX, was carried by winds onto crop land used by the sheep and caused their death. The Army was many months in admitting that nerve gas caused the sheep-kill, although earlier scientists from the U.S. Public Health Service's Research Center in Atlanta positively identified the gas as the cause of death.

The third event—an event that may yet be prevented—is the planned move of thousands of tons of poison gas across the United States by rail for disposal in the Atlantic. In early May, I learned that the Army planned to ship 4,000 tons of mustard gas, 2,500 tons of nerve gas in bomb form, and smaller amounts of tear gas from Colorado, Alabama, Kentucky and Maryland to the Naval Ammunition Depot in Earle, New Jersey. At Earle this gas was to be loaded on four old Liberty ships, taken out 250 miles off the New Jersey coast, and sunk. At this point, the Army has announced that it will not move this gas until its plans have been reviewed by the National Academy of Sciences.

But even these incidents leave many Americans totally ignorant of the military's activities in the field of chemical and biological warfare. The United States Senate failed to ratify our country's signature on the Geneva Protocol of 1925 outlawing the first use of gas and bacteriological warfare. The United States and Japan remain the only two major powers not to do so. The only recorded uses of chemical warfare by combatants in the past quarter century have been in a civil conflict in Yemen and in Vietnam by the United States.

After viewing a television documentary describing some of our chemical and biological warfare activities, I realized that I knew nothing about this aspect of our defense operation. I discovered that most of my colleagues, even those of the House Armed Services Committee, knew little about this part of our arsenal. Congressman Claude Pepper of Florida, for example, said that in his more than twenty years in Congress he had never received any detailed information on gas and germ warfare.

In 1959 a House committee produced a brief report—"Research in Chemical, Biological and Radiological Warfare"—which recommended extensive research on the manufacture and deployment of chemical and biological agents. The Army now claims this report gave the impetus and direction for its CBW activities and constitutes Congressional authority and sanction.

The Army conducts CBW activities in almost total secrecy. The tight security became evident to me as I began

CONGRESSMAN RICHARD D. MCCARTHY *(39th District, New York), is a member of the Public Works Committee as well as several subcommittees dealing with national waterways and highways.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a review of this sector of the military's many-sided enterprise, described by the *New York Times* as "the dark corner of the Defense Department." The security curtain is rarely parted and appears to go beyond the valid purpose of preventing potential enemies from learning about our activities. Some members of Congress believe it is at least partially designed to keep the American people from learning about our policies and practices in gas and germ warfare.

Increasing Concern

At my urging, the Army consented to brief interested members of Congress on its CBW programs, insisting on providing most of the information during the classified portion of the presentation. Most of those who attended the briefing agreed with me that the basic public policy questions remained unanswered. I then addressed a list of such questions to Secretary of Defense Laird, Secretary of State Rogers, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Smith, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Yost, and presidential advisor Henry Kissenger. Their replies shed some light on our CBW policies and practices, but were far from reassuring and in fact pointed out contradictions between known facts and alleged policy. I became increasingly concerned that the United States had adopted chemical and biological warfare policies without thorough review at top levels in the Pentagon, without the consent of Congress, and removed from the searchlight of public debate. And these policies and practices conflict with the declared position of American Presidents over the past 40 years.

Unnecessary secrecy has caused a serious information gap. Whereas most Americans know about our basic nuclear defense policies, these same informed Americans are totally unaware of our chemical and biological warfare policies and practices. The first use of tear gas in Vietnam caused a minor storm of public opinion but it died down and tear gas is now used in large quantities there. Our arsenals contain not only enormous numbers of nuclear weapons, but also an estimated billion lethal doses of nerve gas. Surely our chemical and biological warfare policies deserve as much attention—from the White House, the public, and from Congress—as our nuclear policies.

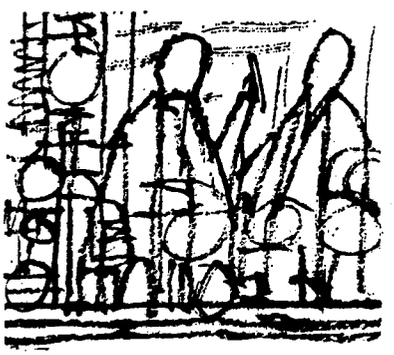
It is encouraging to see that the strength of our democracy, defined by President Kennedy as "our great interior dialogue," is being revitalized by a full and searching debate over the merits of the ABM system proposed by President Nixon. Should we not ask the same for our CBW policies: that the American people know the facts and discuss them?

Americans cannot excuse untenable gas and germ warfare policies on the grounds of ignorance. Over-zealous security resulting in imposed ignorance must be remedied. Congress does not leave the final, far-reaching decisions on missiles to the Pentagon, and we must not continue to abdicate our responsibility in the field of chemical and biological warfare. We must bring these activities to light and allow open public debate. And it is fair to ask why Congress did not keep a more careful eye on gas and germ warfare policies and practices.

Our experience in the Korean War illustrates some of the fallacies in our current policies. We say that we might retaliate to a biological warfare attack with biological weapons, yet the military and the State Department went to great lengths during the Korean conflict to offer documented refutation to Communist charges that the UN forces were employing germ warfare. Both were sensitive to the universal world condemnation which would be hurled at any nation which proved to have used germ warfare.

Similarly, our gas warfare policies have been subtly changed during the Vietnamese War. Although the United States did not ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925, our official position since that time has been full support of its principles. In 1937 President Roosevelt stated that the use of chemical warfare was "inhuman and contrary to what modern civilization should stand for." In 1943, he stated our "no-first-use" policy. And in 1966, we voted in the United Nations to support the principles of the Geneva Protocol.

Yet as early as 1966 American helicopters were dropping tear gas grenades on the Vietcong and North Vietnamese to drive them out of bunkers and foxholes so that B-52 bombing and artillery strikes would be more effec-



tive. And we have used powerful chemicals to destroy jungle and crops. It is unworthy of this country to obscure the facts with semantics such as "herbicides, defoliants, and crowd-controlling devices." There is no semantic escape: the use of gas in conjunction with lethal conventional weapons and the use of anti-food and jungle-stripping chemical weapons is clearly chemical warfare.

We also cannot ignore the potential danger to our own population of continued research, storage and transportation of lethal gas and germ agents. The Denver incident in which poison wastes in a deep well caused the first

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

series of earthquakes in the area in 80 years is only one of several testing accidents. The sheep-kill near Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah involving nerve gas was perhaps the most frightening incident. And field tests of biological agents at Dugway and abroad present grave hazards to the animal and human population of Utah, the United States, and the world. Dr. Joshua Lederberg, a Stanford Nobel Laureate, warns that the very testing of biological weapons may be as dangerous as their use.

Only this spring, the Army proposed to move thousands of tons of obsolete poison gas in tanks and bombs across the country by rail, load it aboard ships, and sink the ships at sea. Such a move of more than twenty gas trains involves the very real possibility of a rail accident. The Transportation Safety Board reports a 100 percent increase in derailments in the last decade with the total now exceeding 5000 per year.

Disposal of outmoded poison gas and poison gas weapons also poses a major threat to our population. Even with the extensive precautions which would presumably be taken with the special trains, there is the possibility of the derailment of another train or a collision. If several GB nerve gas bombs were to rupture and cause the death of thousands of people, what consolation would it be that it had been "the other train's fault?"

The Army says that the trains are to avoid population centers as much as possible, but the proposed route includes Indianapolis, Dayton, Philadelphia and Elizabeth, New Jersey. In any case, the danger to one man in an otherwise unpopulated cornfield is just as great as that posed to a large population center. Would the Army accident report then describe "only minimal loss of life?"

The proposed dumping in the high seas also raises the question of contamination of the water and marine life. Might not other countries justifiably resent this pollution of international waters? What have other countries done to dispose of similar surpluses? As of yet, no one seems to be able to supply the answers to these questions. Apparently it was only after I raised the issue that Defense called in oceanographers to get answers. Eleven previous dumpings—at least three of which consisted of poison gas—were evidently carried out by the Army without consulting the State Department, or any other government department or agency. We know that England, France, Germany and the Soviet Union publish charts of their dumping grounds in the ocean—as we do—but no one has bothered to find out how they take whatever it is they take to these dumping grounds.

The Army states that sea burial is the best method of disposal, maintaining that they do not have the facilities at the arsenals to decontaminate the poison gas quickly enough. They claim that burning the gas would take 68 months and chemical neutralization would take 59 months. This is contrasted with 3 months for sea burial. But Louis E. Garono, Chief Engineer at Edgewood Arsenal, with responsibility for the Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and Rocky Mountain, Colorado Arsenals, tells my office that it would take only one year to dispose of the excess nerve gas by decontamination and that facilities exist at each arsenal which could be easily expanded, if necessary, at a cost less than that of the rail transport and burial at sea.

It is obvious that there are safer ways to dispose of poison gas than to ship it across country and dump it in the ocean. It is equally obvious that interdepartmental and international cooperation is sorely lacking. But most important is the need for open, informed debate on the public policies that govern our chemical and biological warfare activities. To this end, I have asked President Nixon to resubmit the Geneva Protocol to the United States Senate so that our policies can be reviewed and the Protocol ratified. I have also urged that we support the British proposal to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference—that all production, storage and use of biological warfare be fully banned.

To Ratify the Geneva Protocol

National policies and practices do not change overnight. The shifts are often slow and subtle. In the case of chemical and biological warfare, I believe that we have begun a shift away from our traditional and correct policy of no-first use. President Coolidge, President Hoover, President Roosevelt, President Eisenhower, General Pershing, Admiral Leahy, and Admiral Nimitz, among others, have all clearly stated that they were opposed to the first-use of these forms of warfare. Yet in Vietnam, we have resorted to chemical warfare first—not after an enemy has used it on us. And there are many in the military who would like to expand our uses to incapacitating gases and incapacitating biologicals. These moves are steps backward in our attempts to limit man's violence toward man. The United States should not—indeed cannot—take the lead in breaking down this ban.

The "no first-use" policy on germ and gas warfare has been officially adopted by the signatories of the 1925 Geneva Protocol. It was observed throughout World War II, has been generally honored by most nations, and is, even today, the only international agreement that has held certain deadly weapons in check during war. It is a building block upon which controls on other weapons of mass destruction can be placed. All Americans who long for a more peaceful and secure world should urge President Nixon to resubmit this document to the United States Senate, and plead with their Senators to belatedly ratify it. The failure of the United States to ratify the protocol along with recent policy changes on chemical and biological warfare have undermined this critical building block. It would be a tragedy for all mankind if it were crushed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RETURN OF THE PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE

The stakes: the survival of Christianity

MARY DALY

In an article which appeared recently in *The Christian Century* [2/19/69], Walter Wagoner supports Martin Marty's contention that Protestantism has arrived at a stasis, a frozen equilibrium. Wagoner sketches the signs of the stasis as filtered through the seminary milieu: theological exhaustion, ecumenical doldrums, parish bafflement, and devotional emptiness. Both Marty and Wagoner seem to look to the ferment inside Catholicism rather wistfully, perhaps with a touch of envy at what appear to be manifestations of vitality, at least. On the other side of the fence, Doris Grumbach, writing in *Commonweal* [2/14/69], has expressed her anguish at witnessing the struggles within Catholicism. She sees the inherent corruption of ecclesiastical power and therefore shudders at the prospect of ecumenical reunion, given the fact of present structures, notably the episcopacy. She ardently expresses hope that Protestants will not be duped into accepting ecumenism even partially under the umbrella of the Catholic Church's present form, thus spawning an even greater monstrosity—an enormous One Established Church.

In effect, then, concerned Protestants and Catholics alike are expressing malaise about their own situation. I choose the term "concerned" here deliberately. The writers quoted seem to represent the remnant of "born Christians" who have sustained a sense of belonging to the church and for whom the church is still of major importance. The word "ecumenism" apparently does not yet elicit yawns from them—an indication of their separation from the increasing army of the apathetic. They still can hope, but the hope appears more and more to be sustained by looking at the other side. It is as if each were saying to the other: "Don't be fooled by us. *If* there is any hope, it has to come from your side." Are we then confronted with a situation of double delusion?

I think we should consider the possibility that both may be right. It is helpful to analyze the situation in terms of the Tillichean dialectic between Protestant principle and Catholic substance. These are complementary aspects of integral Christian faith. The Protestant principle is basically an attitude of criticism which recognizes the relativity of all objectifications of faith, that is, of all symbols, such as sacraments and creeds, and of all structures, whether institutional or verbal. It is an attitude of protest against all false securities, which implies a radical questioning of prevailing ideas and practices. Catholic substance is the concrete embodiment of the Spiritual Presence, that is, the body of religious symbols and objectifications. In recent centuries the Protestant and Catholic churches have functioned as separate and distorted historical embodiments of these two aspects of faith—although the situation has always been laden with ambiguity. The characteristic perversions of the Catholic substance divorced from the Protestant principle, such as idolatrous sacramentalism, "magic," and over-institutionalization have been most visible within the Catholic Church, while in Protestantism we have seen signs of the powerlessness of the Protestant principle cut off from substance: the death of symbols, the emptiness, banality, and fatal acculturation which led inevitably to "the death of God."

All of this suggests that the contemporary atmosphere of disillusionment with one's own, of looking to the greener pastures of the other is highly significant. The survival of Christianity demands the union of Protestant principle and Catholic substance. However, "union" here does not mean a static unity, but a meeting of opposites, an ongoing relationship which is dynamic and full of surprises. It does not mean incorporation of all the Christian churches into One Established Church. There is ample justification for looking with horror upon the possibility of the existence of such a monstrosity. It would be naive to assume that an amalgamation of churches would rectify the corruption of power which is now so evident within Catholicism. Some reflection should make this clear.

I have already emphasized that the churches are distorted embodiments of the two poles in the Tillichean dialectic. The distortion is in part the result of the separation of two elements which are meaningless without each other, because they are essentially relational. Without the substance, the Protestant principle serves merely to revitalize all knowledge and behavior; while without this principle the substance becomes a block to intellectuality and freedom of the spirit. The situation is more complex than this, however. For Protestantism, as soon as it became institutionalized, that is, even from the origins of the Reformation, began to fail as an expression of the Protestant principle and to become idolatrous not

MARY DALY, *author of* The Church and the Second Sex *(Harper & Row), is working on a book dealing with the Catholic crisis.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only in relation to the Bible, which was absolutized, but also in relation to its own structures. The same problem of tyranny over the spirit, of over-institutionalization, can be seen in Geneva as well as in Rome.

Theonomous Synthesis

What, then, is the nature of the unity that we are seeking? Basically the common quest is not for mere institutional integration, which indeed might at this point in history be both effect and cause of disintegration in the life of faith itself. We are looking for a wholeness which transcends institutional unification. This will not be the sort of wholeness intended by those who speak of "integration" as an end in itself. Indeed, a simple stasis or fixed union of the poles within faith is neither desirable nor possible. The meeting of these complementary opposites within faith is not an end but a new beginning. It initiates a process which is analogous to the process which Jung called individuation. That is, it brings into being a new center of equilibrium, a discovery of freedom and a surge of new life. The meeting of Protestant principle and Catholic substance within the Christian consciousness sparks a qualitative leap beyond the security of fixed formulae and static structures to a higher synthesis which drives us onward. That is, to use another Tillichean concept, it involves a theonomous synthesis.

In order to understand the nature of theonomous synthesis it is necessary to consider what faith really is. It is a state of relatedness to the unconditioned. Since our mode of existence is one of immersion in the concrete, in conditioned forms of meaning and conduct, we are always confronted with a fundamental problem. This is the radical theological problem of the relation of the relative to the absolute. In other words, it is the problem of discovering transcendent meaning within limited and changing forms of thought and action, within our culture.

For the most part, we are unsuccessful in resolving this problem, attempting either to be completely autonomous, i. e. completely "rational," or else succumbing to external, heteronomous authority which does violence to our efforts toward self-realization. In either case, complete human stature is not attained. It is attained only by a qualitative surpassing both of one-sided autonomy and of self-destructive surrender to heteronomy. The kind of decision by which we move to a higher level of awareness and commitment involves abandonment of false security and facing the threat of meaninglessness. Yet it is the only choice which is not self-defeating. This should not be imagined as a kind of leap into the outer space of esoteric irrelevance. Transcendence is not realizable through flight from the concrete present. Quite the opposite; it is attainable only by a transforming confrontation with the concrete situation.

What all this suggests, then, is that the basic disillusionment of educated, concerned Christians on all sides points to the need for qualitative change within the structures which incarnate and at the same time distort revelation. The disillusionment itself, which is combined with something like hope-against-hope, suggests that there is in fact a qualitative change taking place within the Christian consciousness. The problem lies in the transmission of the new level of awareness into the objectifications of revelation.

Many, of course, are sensitive to the problem of the transformation of structures—such as structures of theological language, of church organization, of worship—so that these may express and perpetuate the new or renewed awareness of the transcendent. There is a real danger, however, of short-circuiting the energy within faith which is always trying to push us toward a higher form of integration.

Our situation is somewhat analogous to that of the poet who has a genuine insight but who has not yet acquired the skill to execute a work commensurate to his creative vision. He may err in two directions: after a few false starts he may simply stagnate, hoping that the skill which can only come from practice will somehow come in a flash; or else he may try to finish the end product prematurely, producing a defective work which merely caricatures his original insight. The first choice will result in nothing but sterile passivity. The poet—as well as the theologian—must create. But neither the poet nor the theologian nor the Christian activist should expect short-term results. Neither poetic intuition nor revelation is total at its inception. Just as the poet does not have a clear "idea" of his work before he begins toiling with the words which are his material, so the man of faith cannot have a clear idea at the outset of the theological, liturgical or organizational forms which will most adequately incarnate his new plans of awareness. It should be obvious that the poet's inspiration is not clothed in words as if these were a costume not affecting his thought. Clearly, it is through the interaction of insight and material that the work of art comes into being. The process defies all naive classifications such as "form" and "content." So it should also be clear that revelation is not an entity in itself, but is conditioned by the mind receiving it. We never have revelation "pure," and to imagine that we do is the basic error of all fundamentalists and traditionalists. Moreover, the mind receiving revelation cannot be imagined as a bowl receiving jello and giving it form. Human consciousness is active in the revelatory process, experimenting with its insights, interacting with them, remolding them in the context of new problems and situations.

The theonomous synthesis which is engendered by the encounter of Protestant principle and Catholic substance is form-creative in the sense I have just described, recognizing that its forms are always temporary and provisional. It implies a plane of insight which enables us to discover transcendent meaning in our concrete situation,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and to transform our situation so that it becomes more transparent to this transcendent meaning. We then participate in the revelatory process through our efforts to cope with the problems immediately before us in the concrete present, through our tentative efforts at rebuilding.

The temptation to short-circuit the potential of our insights, either by copping out entirely or by idolatrous fixation upon forms, old or new, seems to be with us now in a particularly acute form. As Protestants and Catholics gaze wistfully over the fence at each other's gardens, the deterioration within each segment of Christianity becomes more and more evident. At this point in history it appears that the attempt of Protestantism to become relevant to the modern world has failed. It is the conclusion of many that Protestantism today is moribund. Of course, there has been an appearance of vitality in recent years on the theological scene, with the emergence of such sensations as the death-of-God theology. However, Gabriel Vahanian is not alone in seeing the radical theology of immanentism, which is expressed in the writings of thinkers such as Altizer, as approaching a capitulation to secularism; and secularism, which lives on the delusion of self-sufficiency, bears within itself the seeds of disintegration. Moreover, although the distinction made by such theologians as Harvey Cox between secularism (an ideology) and secularization (an historical process) may be valid enough, many are now taking a second and less credulous look at his optimistic portrayal and biblical justification of "the secular city."

It is perhaps not too surprising, then, that a sociologist such as Thomas O'Dea in his book, *The Catholic Crisis*, maintains that "Catholicism stands surrogate for Christianity as a whole and upon the success of its efforts [to confront modernity] depends the future of Christianity." And he asks: "Is it not precisely those established expressions of Catholic faith unchanged and defensively clung to . . . that preserved within its own ranks the interior intensity and authenticity of faith?" O'Dea acknowledges that this poses a terrible dilemma, for its clinging to these expressions has made Catholicism irrelevant to the modern world. He opts for the only life-affirming course of action: to move ahead with radical openness to the world, seeking deeper self-awareness in faith, while avoiding cheap rejection of ancient values as well as shallow compromise with fundamentalism.

O'Dea's book, then, together with a number of others, by its very approach to the problems of contemporary Christianity, implicitly bears witness to the fact that a re-integration of the Protestant principle within the Catholic consciousness is in fact taking place. The spirit of iconoclasm (a term greatly favored by Gabriel Vahanian) has invaded the Catholic consciousness, just as recognition of an authentic need for icons, for substance, is penetrating the Protestant consciousness.

It may be, then, that the most authentic primary response to the present situation is to acknowledge what it is telling us about the dialectic within faith itself. The contemporary Christian experience, though it may be painful, can be revelatory. As a result of the experience of privation and incompleteness there is an emerging awareness of the vital tension between Protestant principle and substance, between eschatology and incarnation, between transcendence and immanence. At this point in history we are able to appreciate fully the deterioration which takes place when the dialectic is not kept alive. There is then a breakdown in opposite directions: on the one hand toward empty secularism and on the other hand toward demonic idolatry of "sacred" doctrines, objects, and social systems (witness the Catholic traditionalist movement). To have become wide awake to the reality of this dialectic which is at the heart of faith and to the disastrous consequence of its breakdown is no small advance.

We should try to be aware, however, that the integration we are seeking cannot be forced or sustained by inauthentic means. There is no point in trying to preserve dead symbols and structures which have lost their power to speak to our culture, just as there is no point in trying to substitute a "get with it" liberalism for genuine perception of the relativity of all symbols. Our only hope of vitality lies in an attitude of radical openness to transcendence.

Toward Self-Confrontation

Insight concerning the relation between transcendence and the tension between Protestant principle and Catholic substance which is inherent in faith comes from Teilhard de Chardin, who, among others, has transmitted a vision of the evolutionary process on this planet as moving in the direction of ever greater self-awareness of the individual and the species. It appears that the process of hominization involves a folding in of consciousness upon itself. Seen within this perspective, the assimilation of the reflective and self-critical Protestant principle into the consciousness of Christians who have been conditioned within the Catholic milieu can be recognized as movement toward a higher level of human development. So, too, the rediscovery by Protestants of the power of religious symbols is a mode of participation in the process of becoming self-aware. It appears that evolving consciousness within Christianity is reaching out toward a level of self-encounter which will be qualitatively new.

The catalyst moving us toward ever higher levels of self-confrontation is present in the manifold problems thrust upon us by our concrete situation. There is no clear guarantee, of course, that we will achieve synthesis and not simply further disintegration. We can be sure, however, that the preservation of an ancient monolithic institution—or the creation of a new one—is no guarantee against disintegration. On the contrary, our hope for higher integrity is rooted in our capacity for institutional

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and theological diversity. We need religious diversity—not based on "dogmas" but upon a variety of concerns, interests and life-styles, and cutting across the institutional "Catholic" and "Protestant" divisions which are already almost meaningless. We need this because this is how we are in fact: complex, alienated, incomplete.

Of course, the acceptance of this diversity means the acceptance also of a sense of relativity and a tolerance of ambiguity. The admission that there are no fixed, absolutely true "answers" to ultimate questions and that there is no infallible authority to provide them implies the acceptance of existential anxiety as part of our lives—and this is far from easy. Indeed, all concrete forms of religion can function as mechanisms of escape from the darkness of threatening uncertainty. Because of existential anxiety, there is a tendency built into religion to deteriorate into idolatry, giving an inordinate value to things and acts which in fact have value only as pointing beyond themselves.

The tremendous crisis that is taking place in Christianity today is in large measure a reaction to the excesses of idolatry to which the church has succumbed in recent centuries. In the last century Nietzsche the prophet announced to the world that God is dead. In April, 1966, *Time* magazine belatedly picked up the news of God's demise, having been tipped off by the theologians of the then newsworthy death-of-God school. Since then, the whole affair has continued to be the subject of innumerable public jokes and private nightmares. I should like to stress that despite some of the nonsense that has been written under that banner, the "death of God" does mean something real. The idols which have been set up in the name of God and religion *have been seen through*. The total insecurity of the human situation and of faith, which Christians had sought to hide from themselves, had been laid bare.

Now that Protestants and Catholics alike have become more and more aware of their radical insecurity, it is not surprising that we have been seeking communication with each other so eagerly over the past few years. In this process we are discovering that communication is in fact what community in the deepest sense is all about. Community requires, in the first place, radical communication with oneself, which implies intellectual honesty and doubt. This self-awareness makes possible the extension of community beyond the magic closed circle of "true believers" to an ever wider sphere of influence. It makes possible a recognition of revelation as an ongoing reality, not restricted to any group of Christians nor merely to those who call themselves Christians.

It is this growth in self-understanding and interaction that really matters. Luckily, the contemporary liberal Catholic's nightmare of the return of Protestants to Rome is hardly an immediate threat. Indeed, the departure of all thinking Christians from Rome would seem now to be a more likely possibility, and perhaps a disastrous one as well. But far more interesting than such questions of institutional housing is the phenomenon of the return of the Protestant principle within the Catholic consciousness and the thrust toward theonomy which this can engender. Theologically, what this means is that we can no longer comfort ourselves with the delusion of having a total, fixed and comprehensive vision of reality. However, it also means that we are now free to experience the seminal and creative vision of explorers who have a heritage that drives them forward on an adventurous journey.

The swing vote of '72

POLITICIZING THE LOWER-MIDDLE

MICHAEL NOVAK

The most important political task of the coming decade is to tap the energies of the men and women of the lower-middle class: gas station attendants, firemen, policemen, storekeepers, millworkers, low-budget salesmen, local "rednecks." Possibly a third of adult Americans spring from this class. Only now are large numbers of its young people going to college—often "apathetically," resistant to the culture of the universities. The American military draws a disproportionate share of its manpower from this class, both through the draft and through recruiting campaigns. More than any other, this class foots the emotional-psychic bill for the decision, made by others, to allow the black, brown and red man to get a fair share of white opportunity. This class feels helpless before the liberal-conservative coalition that manages American society. Although many of its members voted for Humphrey in 1968, many were tempted sorely by Wallace's observation. "There isn't a dime's worth of difference between Republicans and Democrats." It is a class ill-prepared to understand

MICHAEL NOVAK *is a member of the faculty of State University College, Old Westbury, Long Island. His most recent book is* Theology for Radical Politics *(Herder and Herder).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

either international or national politics; its loyalties, traditions and patterns of judgment are local.

The experiences and sentiments of the lower-middle class are thus increasingly opposed to the abstract, national ideals of American liberalism. When liberalism was the champion of shorter working hours, higher pay, the right to strike and social security, this class was content to invoke a national, even international, idealism over against the entrenched, hereditary opposition of local establishments. But under the impact of the technological explosion since World War II, the social and political situation of the lower-middle class has been altered dramatically. Liberalism has become increasingly the property of the technical, educated middle class. That new class is committed to the rationalization of society, work and urban living, and caught in the inner contradiction between affluence based on the technology of war and its own ideology of reason, law, tolerance and order. Formerly, the lower middle class was opposed by a conservative, landed class of owners; now it is opposed by a liberal, educated class of managers. Its older opponents kept its members from control over their destiny by economic privilege; its new opponents keep them from similar control by technical expertise. The old system was plutocratic, the new one is meritocratic. Both leave a very large class feeling increasingly helpless.

There are many ironies in the present situation of the the lower middle class. Its members face a whipsaw. On the one hand, the conservative, established classes regard them as uneducated, rough, uncouth, unreasonable in their demands for higher wages and security, and dumb. On the other hand, the liberal educated classes regard them as naive, prejudiced, rigid, superstitious, requiring much missionary effort before they can be considered genuinely human. When radical students call them "pigs," the pain surely penetrates. The conservative classes do not find their manners or their morals adequately stable; yet the standards of dress, speech and public decorum they manage, with great effort, to impose upon themselves are mocked by television writers, academics, intellectuals, artists, some clergymen and some segments of the press. They feel looked down upon because their manners are untaught; and then they witness the sons and daughters of the privileged violating with impunity every inhibition they themselves have been forced to nurture. Disciplined in sexual conduct, hygiene, docility, and obliged to acquire a cooperative, competitive spirit, they are now told by radicals that the price they paid dehumanized them—and by conservatives that our whole civilization depends upon paying that price, ever more rigorously.

They are exhorted to return to God, and to forget Him; to renounce their concern for money and a higher standard of living (their "materialism" and "secularism") and to act upon their own interests more realistically. They are urged to be patriotic and to "support our boys in Vietnam"; and, imagining themselves to be Germans under Hitler, to stop the war. They are beseeched to halt the spread of Communism, and to contribute to the causes which, all around them, they can feel subverting the character of the American society they used to know. They are taught to love their neighbor and to treat every man as equal; and they are expected to pay to the blacks and others the debts which the established, having for generations gained their profits from slavery and the slums, are wealthy enough to avoid paying in person.

By and large, the lower middle class is extremely patriotic; almost all have memories of worse days, less money in the pocket, no television in the home, no barbecue pit, no shiny and speedy car. America has been good to them. On the other hand, the price they pay for beer and television is a larger helplessness. Pragmatic, wealthy, educated men decide questions of peace and war; the cost of living, inflation, deinflation; the placement of highways, schools, apartment houses, hospitals, airports; who will run for office and what his freedom of action will be; the direction of technological innovation; job opportunities—in a word, virtually every matter of life, well-being and death. The lower middle class lives in crowded houses. The work they are given to do has little relation to their own sensibilities, imagination or creativity. They have not had psychiatric or other care to prepare them for the tensions that explode in their homes—the dissatisfactions of the women, the hostilities of the men, the resentments of the young.

Somewhere, far away, in "Washington," some leaders are daily arranging, without consulting them, new ways to intensify the difficulties they face. And almost everywhere there seem to be "troublemakers" insulting everything they have at high expense held dear, and tearing down the structures in which they have so patiently and painstakingly been trying to gain at last a safe foothold.

John McDermott has recently written in *The Nation* (March 10) of the resistance the young college students of the lower middle class put up against the efforts of

CHESTNUT HILL COLLEGE

CONDUCTED BY THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH

Accredited Catholic college for women. Liberal Arts and Science.

WRITE:

REGISTRAR, CHESTNUT HILL COLLEGE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19118

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberal professors to search out and to destroy their local, uneducated standards, aspirations, prejudices and tastes. Operating from within a more national or international cultural framework, professors are by and large insensitive or hostile to the home culture of their students. On television and in the national press, students and parents can feel the same relentless pressure: Enter into the national, technological, rationalized culture.

To be sure, "higher" standards of justice, due process, respect for fundamental rights and reform seem to have accompanied the extension of national power into local communities. More often than not, the federal government was on the side of little people against powerful local interests. But the model on which national power was extended has appeared increasingly to be abstract, heartless, and subservient to technological, bureaucratic imperatives. It is not only the traditionally conservative who, now more ritually than really, oppose "liberal bureaucracy." (Many conservatives have become fabulously wealthy in a welfare state aimed directly at the economic benefit of the upper middle and middle classes: highways, airports, and new technological industries do not make the lower-middle classes rich). The lower-middle class has lost the sense of participation in shaping its own destiny.

How can the injustices done the lower-middle class by our society be remedied? The politician and the political party that can best answer that question will carry the large swing vote that will determine the direction of American policies in the 1970s. One key is furnished by an insight of the radical left, *viz.*, that the most important class factor in the United States is knowledge; the elites of the present and future are knowledge elites. The lower middle class requires credible means to check and to balance the power of experts. They will attain those means either by anti-intellectualism, anger and reaction or by new, legitimized power.

The secondary but most easily articulated problems of the lower middle class in a shifting society are how to shield his home, his income, and his opportunity for advancement from the contingencies of a tumultuous time. The primary problem is how to regain a sense of purpose, honor and dignity. An American needs to feel free; he has to feel equal to the next man—equal in opportunity and equal in attention paid his grievances. Unconsciously, the shift of the cultural center of gravity to national media of expression, and especially television, has led too many in our society to talk down to the little man, by undercutting his local standard of values and making him feel lost and out of his element. *He* doesn't talk the way television announcers, newsmen, analysts talk; he never went to school and doesn't understand the brief comments of experts. He is always left with the feeling that the big men in society are speaking to him in code. He judges by his local experience, and often that experience has not led him to encounter the sorts of problems that public spokesmen talk about; or else, if he has had comparable experiences, his own common sense leads him to different, even opposite, solutions than those publicly proposed. "I just can't understand why they let these long-haired kids (or North Koreans) get away with so much," he is likely to say; "I'd give 'em one good kick in the ass and that would be that!"

For the last 20 years, the direction of United States policies, international and domestic, have disproportionately benefited the new class of technical experts and the already wealthy. The invisible poor of whom Michael Harrington wrote have been almost totally neglected; the lower middle class, too. *The chief reason for this neglect is the influence of the anti-Communist military and intelligence establishment upon the priorities of scientific and technological progress.* Seventy percent of the U.S. budget goes to pay for present and past wars. The quality, decency and stability of the life of the lower middle class and the poor deteriorate annually under these priorities. The military budget could, and must be, cut at least in half. (It was $8 billion when Truman left office.) New priorities for federal moneys should be for assistance like tax rebates, cheaper federal loans, higher salaries and other subsidies to people whose talent and abilities do not qualify them for higher education. No one should be penalized because his talents are not those of a technocrat.

Industries, like political control of communities, should be decentralized; rebates of federal taxes back to localities should cover higher costs. An investment in democratic participation is more important to our survival than investment in guns. Labor unions should acquire a voice in managerial decisions; workers should have a say in the production schedules, marketing and advertising of their company's products, just as they should share profits and losses. Professor Jaroslav Vanek of Cornell has been working for several years on new concepts of worker creativity and responsibility, in keeping with individual initiative and corporate solidarity.

Participation in decision-making on the job, in schools and in government is the only possible way to fulfill the deepest demands of the American psyche. When Americans feel helpless, they know their democracy is sick. And nothing cures democracy quicker than people exercising real responsibility. The political party that invents ways of giving real political and economic power to the lower middle class and to the poor, at the expense of the wealthy and the educated middle class, will have gone a long way toward making our future hopeful. At present we are descending deeper into the control of the many by the few, under the classical guise of needing to protect ourselves against outside aggressors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SCREEN

A couple of British movies now on our screens seem unable to decide whether they want to be soap operas or melodramas, so they wind up more like TV fare than anything else. In fact, Waris Hussein, who directed "Thank You All Very Much," *is* a TV director; and his film runs on and on endlessly in episodes that could easily be divided into half-hour programs through which Sandy Dennis stumbles and suffers as an unmarried pregnant girl. Some of this is rather interesting, but since the picture is so long, it is unfortunate that director Hussein and scriptwriter Margaret Drabble didn't use some of the time to give their characters more depth. The London scenes, the parties, the pre-natal clinic, the hospital *et al.* are well done; but we get to know the people only superficially, and even Sandy's character is rather surface. Pregnant at the film's beginning and definitely depressed, she answers her friend's: "What are you going to do now?" with "Have it, I suppose." She visits an abortionist but does not go through with the operation. Nor does she put up any argument with her sister who asks later why she "didn't get rid of it, the way other people do." She refuses to marry just to be married. After a flashback reveals which of her boy friends (the only one with whom she had sex) is the father, we begin to wonder why she doesn't tell him how he fits into the scheme of things. Women audiences may be more sympathetic and understanding of Sandy and her problems than men who will grow impatient with the girl. Both, however, better be sure they like Sandy Dennis if they go to "Thank You All Very Much" because they'll see a lot of her; and while her usual annoying mannerisms aren't too apparent at first, they begin to show long before the finale. Maybe Miss Dennis is talking about herself and not the character in the movie when she says at the end. "It's my nature and one can't do anything about that."

"It's my nature and one can't do anything about that" could be the theme of the other British movie, too, as "Laughter in the Dark" runs its black-comedy, tragic way telling the story of a married man who falls in love with a scheming young girl who wrecks his life. Directed by Tony Richardson, with a screenplay by Edward Bond written from Vladimir Nabokov's early novel, this is a very peculiar movie in that it's hard to tell whether Richardson and Bond are telling an ironic joke about human perversity or whether they mean for us to take the sad story seriously. Nicol Williamson is excellent as the wealthy art dealer who is self-centered and so obsessed when he's caught in love's trap that he cannot see that the girl is playing him for a fool and is determined to break up his marriage and get all she can of his money. Anna Karina is effective as the calculating, amoral girl who is also caught in a trap when a former boy friend turns up, pushes his suit again, becomes her lover whenever she can escape from Nicol, and masterminds the scheme to rob and destroy the girl's benefactor. In this difficult role of personified evil, extraordinarily handsome Jean-Claude Drouot looks right but is not a convincing enough actor for the diabolic histrionics he must perform. Outstanding in the supporting cast are Sian Phillips as Nicol's cool, ladylike wife, Peter Bowles as her kindly brother who's crushed by Nicol's behavior, and Sheila Burrell as a beach acquaintance.

If it weren't for several hilariously funny, sardonic scenes "Laughter in the Dark" would be more reminiscent of the Emil Jannings-Marlene Dietrich affair in "Blue Angel" than of anything else—unless to go farther back it might remind oldtimers of Theda Bara's "A Fool There Was." Perhaps if "Laughter" had been set back in the 20s, as was Nabokov's novel, it would seem less like a melodramatic soap opera. Pictorially the film is quite handsome with fine color photography of its English and Continental locales. But from the story point of view, the movie gets rather absurd, especially after Nicol loses his eyesight and chases the young lovers around the house. The laughter is indeed in the dark and hardly prepares us for the finale. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Join the Commonweal Associates

A letter went out on May 2nd to subscribers urging memberships and contributions in the Associates' campaign to assure Commonweal's continued publication and growth in this 45th Anniversary Year.

There were by May 20:

41 Hundred-Dollar *Charter Members*
171 Fifty-Dollar *Sustaining Members*
53 Contributors donating $625.

Memberships are acceptable in two installments. Send your membership fee or contribution today to:

Commonweal Associates
232 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALMOST MAKING IT

One view on the meaning of France's revolution

STAUGHTON LYND

WHAT should the American Left have learned from the French events of June 1968?

Certain lessons have been clear throughout the intervening year:

1. The near-revolution shows that revolution is possible in an advanced industrial society.

2. The French Communist Party again revealed the fact that Moscow-oriented Communist parties represent an obstacle to revolutionary change, not a means to it.

3. The French industrial working class demonstrated greater insurgency than many Marxist theorists had supposed the proletariat of advanced industrial countries to be capable of.

Whether these or any other lessons drawn from France can be applied to the United States without much qualification is debatable. In particular, the collective experience of the French working class in the twentieth century is very different from that of its American counterpart. But I think the difference is often exaggerated: there are also similarities, such as the fact that in 1936-1937 about 1,000,000 workers in France and about 500,000 workers in the United States took part in sit-down strikes. The critical problem in interpreting the French experience, it seems to me, is not that of "translation" from French to American conditions. Rather it is that the three conclusions listed above leave basic strategic questions still unanswered. Had the French movement rejected Communist Party leadership, what strategic options would have been available? In what manner might a transfer of power have been effected? Is it not the case that the workers, despite their occupation of the factories, were less revolutionary than the students? Until such questions have been dealt with, the lessons of the French experience must remain unclear.

The French Student Revolt
EDIT. HERVE BOURGES
Hill and Wang, $3.95

Obsolete Communism
DANIEL AND GABRIEL COHN-BENDIT
McGraw-Hill, $5.95

Red Flag/Black Flag
PATRICK SEALE AND MAUREEN McCONVILLE
Putnam's, $6.95

Strategy and Revolution in France 1968
ANDRE GLUCKSMANN
New Left Review: Nov.-Dec. 1968

What Happened in France
GEORGE LICHTHEIM
Commentary: Sept. 1968

These questions may be reduced to two:

1. What are the implications of May-June 1968 concerning the *organization* of a revolutionary movement?
2. What does France imply as to the *necessity for violence* in a revolutionary transition to socialism?

I shall comment on them in turn.

First, during the same year (spring 1968-spring 1969) that SDS, influenced the Black Panthers and by PLP, has tended to conclude that revolution requires a Leninist party, participants in the French uprising have tended to conclude just the reverse. Not only the anarchist Cohn-Bendit, but also, for instance, the independent Marxist André Glucksmann, find in May-June 1968 the moral that the need "for a highly centralized and hierarchized party" may be disputable.

Cohn-Bendit explained this in an interview with Jean-Paul Sartre in mid-May 1968:

> At Nanterre and Paris there was simply an objective situation, arising from what is vaguely called "student unrest" and from a desire for action on the part of some young people disgusted by the inaction of the ruling classes. Because it was more conscious theoretically and better prepared, the active minority was able to light the fuse and make the breach. But that is all. The others could follow or not. They happen to have followed. . . . we must abandon the theory of the "leading vanguard" and replace it by a much simpler and more honest one of the active minority functioning as a permanent leaven, pushing for action without ever leading it. In fact, though no one will admit it, the Bolshevik Party did not "lead" the Russian Revolution. It was borne along by the masses. . . . (*The French Student Revolt*)

In his book *Obsolete Communism*, written after the defeat of the May-June rebellion, Cohn-Bendit retains the same views. "All revolutionary activity is collective, and hence involves a degree of organization. What we challenge is not the need for this but the need for a revolutionary leadership, the need for a party." He goes on to attack the Lenin's argument in *What Is To Be Done?* that the working-class will not achieve revolutionary consciousness, and so a party of professional revolutionaries must introduce that consciousness from without. "We take quite a different view: far from having to teach the masses, the revolutionary's job is to try to understand and express their common aspirations." What is needed is a revolutionary movement which is democratic even in the sense that minority groups should be free, not only to write and argue, but to "express in social practice" their divergent ideas. "Political maturity comes only from revolutionary struggle and direct action," not from the propagation of a correct line by a disciplined party. Accordingly, writes Cohn-Bendit, "we believe in spontaneous resistance to all forms of domination," "the multiplication of nuclei of confrontation"; "what we need is not organization with a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capital *O*, but a host of insurrectional cells."

I am in fundamental sympathy with Cohn-Bendit's objections to a vanguard party, but I believe he overstates his case. In his book as in his interview with Sartre, Cohn-Bendit argues that the Bolshevik Party did not lead the Russian Revolution of November 1917. "Far from leading the Russian Revolution forward, the Bolsheviks were responsible for holding back the struggle of the masses between February and October 1917"; the most Cohn-Bendit will concede is that for a moment in November "the action and aspiration of the masses coincided with those of the temporarily de-Bolshevized Bolshevik Party."

Now, one can and should recognize that the Bolshevik Party, Lenin included, was taken completely by surprise by the first 1917 uprising which brought Kerensky to power; that in 1905 the Bolsheviks had been lukewarm toward the soviets, and that again in 1917, until Lenin's return to Russia in April, the party stood aloof from these institutions of dual power; and finally, of course, that after the seizure of state power in November the Bolsheviks emasculated and when necessary crushed spontaneous working-class initiatives-from-below. It is especially significant to stress that in 1917 the workers of Petrograd and Moscow spontaneously transcended the trade-union consciousness beyond which Lenin, in *What Is To Be Done?*, had said they could not go unaided. But all these perceptions still do not justify sentences such as: "The masses themselves made the revolution, with or even against the party"; or, "The Party as such played no role in these decisive days"; or, "It was the party that had to rise to the level of the masses, not the other way round. Lenin had to turn 'anarchist.'" These formulations obscure the facts that (a) the Bolsheviks did not attempt to take power until they had doggedly won majorities in the Petrograd and Moscow soviets, and (b) the Bolsheviks timed the seizure of power to coincide with the convening of an all-Russian congress of soviets, into the hands of which power could be transferred.

Glucksmann's formulation appears more judicious. "Co-ordination of the revolutionary movement and the elaboration of general perspectives are necessary." On the other hand, he continues, this co-ordination may not require a Leninist party:

> The revolution's weapon against the authoritarian and hierarchized State is the explosion of initiatives at all levels. In a society ripe for socialism, counter-power is created by the multiplication of centres first of contestation and then of decision which paralyze the central State power. The tasks for a "General Staff" of the revolution are therefore *much smaller*, the masses' control *greater*, the task of the 'parties' *less*.

The italics are mine: the point is that the necessary changes in the Leninist model may be better expressed quantitatively, than by the either-or choices on which Cohn-Bendit insists. Cohn-Bendit's vision of what-might-have-been is that on May 24 the more than 100,000 demonstrators in Paris "should have occupied the Ministries and public buildings, not to put in a new lot of 'revolutionary' bureaucrats, but to smash the entire state apparatus, to show the people how well they could get on without it, and how the whole of society had to be constructed afresh on the basis of workers' control." He seems to feel no need for any centralized decisions, for the creation of a national authority which can in some sense speak for the nation, and so claim to be that power whose orders, as opposed to the orders of the existing government, should be obeyed. I do.

Our second question concerned the necessity for violence in the transition to socialism. The French uprising was hardly nonviolent. The students defended the Latin Quarter with cobblestones, and the workers, many of them were similarly prepared to defend the occupied plants. In the town of Nantes a revolutionary committee even erected roadblocks on the four principal approaches to the town. Still, if the May-June days were not *non*violent, they were extraordinarily *un*violent. Few of the protagonists had guns. Fewer still used them. On June 11 the *New York Times* reported that until that day French policemen "had not fired a shot, even in warning." After two months of near-revolution only three persons had been killed.

Further, a diverse assortment of expert observers believe that had the striking students and workers simply persisted in their nonviolent disruption, the government would have fallen and France would now be socialist. Glucksmann says: "The physical inferiority of the forces of order was extreme, their morale low; the strike had only to hold, the demonstrations to continue and state power would have collapsed." Cohn-Bendit believes:

> It has been said, and rightly so, that for the first time in history a revolution could have been made without recourse to arms. . . . It is physically impossible to crush a strike when there are ten million determined strikers. The authorities could neither muster enough men in uniform to storm the factories nor manipulate sufficient blacklegs to do the job for them. . . . The police, intimidated by the size of the strike, and exhausted by two weeks of fighting in the streets, were incapable of maintaining public order. The Army was out of sight, conscripts could not have been used for a cause in which so few believed.

Cohn-Bendit observes that in all of France only the 13,500 CRS (the equivalent of a tactical police force in the United States) represented "a really dangerous force." Such numbers were effective only while the number of insurgents was also small, that is, during the period when the struggle was confined to the students alone.

Especially impressive to me is the fact that George Lichtheim makes exactly the same points. A Social Democrat rather than a revolutionary Marxist or anarchist, a spectator rather than a participant, Lichtheim would hardly have been expected to feel much partisanship for those wild in the streets. Lichtheim nevertheless states:

> Ten million workers were in occupation of factories and offices throughout the land; the army would never have moved against them (anyway soldiers cannot dig coal or pour steel); and there are only thirteen thousand five hundred CRS riot police in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whole of France: enough to hit a few students over the head, but hardly sufficient to battle ten million workers. If the Communist party and its trade-union federation, the CGT, had simply told the workers to sit tight and refuse to budge; better still, if they had told them to start production going again without bothering about the nominal owners. . . . France today would have had a socialized economy.

Thus Lichtheim argues that between the alternatives of violent insurrection and electoral politics a "third way" of nonviolent revolution was available.

It would seem, then, that two additional lessons can be added to the three listed at the beginning of this review:

4. The revolutionary process requires coordinating mechanisms and a national body which can speak for the movement as a whole, but does not require a Leninist vanguard party;

5. Nonviolent, or at any rate, unviolent revolution—revolution without significant loss of life—may well be possible in an advanced industrial society.

BOOKS

'Gentleness and a stylish sense of the ridiculous'

Slaughterhouse-Five

KURT VONNEGUT, JR.

Delacorte, $5.95

WARREN COFFEY

This announcement is neither an offer to sell nor a solicitation of an offer to buy any of these shares. Rather, it tries to establish the Vonnegut form by looking at some of his earlier work as well as the book in hand, somewhat in the manner of Jack's Green Card. Mr. Vonnegut is out of Indianapolis (1922) by way of Cornell, the United States infantry in World War II, then the University of Chicago, a brief stint of teaching writing at Iowa, a Guggenheim grant, and some years now of writing full-time. He has written eight books, possibly the best-known of them, and to my mind much the best, being *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater,* an inventive, funny whimsy about Eliot Rosewater, an alcoholic Hoosier philantropist and zany.

Mr. Vonnegut has been called by Graham Greene, no less, "one of the best living American writers." But the Vonnegut books have been mostly caviar to the general. He has been a writer's writer, serious, technically accomplished, uninterested in accommodating himself to the book trade or the great thundering herd. He has not had, accordingly, one "big book," though he is a better writer—more intelligent, more disciplined—than some people who have, Joseph Heller, for example, or Terry Southern. Mr. Vonnegut is what used to be called a banjo hitter. He has kept rapping out sharp singles while the sluggers lunged

The Dilemma of the Priesthood

With engrossing case histories, a distinguished French journalist builds a highly readable and reasoned case for a complete redefinition of the priesthood. Jacques Duquesne's *A Church Without Priests?* will be widely discussed. $4.95

The Church-Asleep Over Racism and War?

Father Philip Berrigan's powerful polemic indicts both Church and State for not taking immediate steps to end racism and war. *A Punishment for Peace* examines the "institutionalizing of racism here and abroad" and documents at length the author's criticism of United States foreign policy. $4.95

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
866 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and panted and wrote army novels and drove home the Cadillacs. But there have been some signs latterly of a boom in Vonnegut stock, with his *Mother Night* particularly and *Cat's Cradle* being taken up a good deal by young people in the colleges. What appeals to them, I suspect, is the combination of Mr. Vonnegut's gentleness and his stylish sense of the ridiculous in these our times. He may be a growth issue.

Slaughterhouse-Five at 186 pages is another single, I suppose, but it's anything but sharp. It's about Billy Pilgrim, a barber's reckless son from Ilium, New York, who serves as chaplain's assistant in World War II in possibly the most un-crack outfit ever assembled. He is captured by the Germans in 1944 and as a prisoner sees something of the American and British fire-bombing of Dresden on February 13, 1945, a day's work in which 130,000 people got killed. "So it goes," in the words of the book's refrain. Billy goes quietly mad in the upshot, or so it seems to the rest of the world. What has really happened to him is that he has become "unstuck in time" or "spastic in time." He moves around in the past and future like a native of those elements and visits the planet Tralfamadore where cosmic secrets are laid open to him. He comes back to earth, studies optometry, marries the boss's daughter and ends up rich and unhappy because nobody believes him when he talks about his excursions into past and future.

What Mr. Vonnegut apparently had in mind was a futurist or science-fiction parody of *Pilgrim's Progress*, on the one hand, and a history of World War II as just another Children's Crusade, on the other. Which makes a lot of china to keep in the air. He has been most honorably determined that *his* war book contain no part for John Wayne or Frank Sinatra. Having seen the Dresden bombing while a prisoner of war, he has tried over many years to write a book in some way adequate to the experience. He acknowledges that the book has "almost no characters . . . and almost no dramatic confrontations, because most of the people in it are so sick and so much the listless playthings of enormous forces." And not all his acumen can find a way around that.

Slaughterhouse-Five has some funny turns in it, to be sure. Eliot Rosewater and Kilgore Trout wander in from earlier books, as does Howard Campbell, Jr., and there is a bright sequence in a pornography shop and another on a radio talk-show about the future of the novel. The book also has some useful revelations about the social life of your optometrist and about the way our Air Force writes history. But some of the Vonnegut failings turn up, too. He does his Max Shulman impression about twelve times, here, for example, with Billy Pilgrim's wife: "Her name was Valencia Merble. Valencia was the daughter of the owner of the Ilium School of Optometry. She was rich. She was as big as a house because she couldn't stop eating. She was eating a Three Musketeers Candy Bar." And after doing Max Shulman he does James M. Barrie, in whimsical cotton-candy patches about Tralfamadore and its inhabitants and about the essential boyishness of Billy Pilgrim. After the seal act, bring on the lyric tenor. Something like that seems to be the formula. Romantic irony it used to be called—"baths of irony, followed by baths of sentiment"—and it brings in the humorist. Mr. Vonnegut seems bent on being loved not only as Class Cut-Up—that would explain the relentless intimations about how much time he used to spend looking up teacher's dress—but also as Most Sensitive Boy of 1922—that would explain the frequent feyness. He is an inventive, skillful author working in a bad line, humor, in a bad district, Lovable Street. I admire his books, this side Westminster Abbey, but they would gain, I think, by trying something more against the grain of 1969 and their author's temperament.

Delbarton School

Morristown, New Jersey. An hour's drive from the George Washington Bridge or Holland Tunnel. A country day and boarding school for boys conducted by Benedictine Monks. Six forms, comprising the 7th and 8th grades and four years of college preparatory courses. Small classes. Thorough guidance department. Complete athletic program. Write for prospectus to the Headmaster.

Ideal Graduation or Ordination Gift
***A Subscription to* Commonweal**
1 Year, $10; 2 Years, $18

INTER-FAITH INSTITUTE for clergy of all faiths, "*Church and Kingdom.*" June 16-20. Speakers: RABBI ARTHUR GILBERT, REV. JOAN FORSBERG, REV. RICHARD MCBRIEN. *Write*: PASTORAL INSTITUTE, Holy Family Monastery, West Hartford, Conn. 06107.

Priests for Tomorrow

RUUD J. BUNNIK

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $5.95

ANSELM ATKINS

The Church, according to Ruud Bunnik, has often "wasted time with paltry domestic problems while the world was clamoring for bread and understanding." Strange, the question of the ministry—the subject of this book—is just one of those paltry domestic crises. Too bad the energies of writers, readers, and reviewers have to be spent on it. Too bad, but, unfortunately, unavoidable. For, unless the Church can unlimber its ministry the way Bunnik wants, there may not be any Church left to serve the clamoring world. The Church is for the sake of the world; it is only an instrument, not an end; but if the instrument malfunctions or falls apart, there is nothing to do but stop work (on the world) and overhaul the tool.

As a blueprint for radical overhaul, Bunnik's book is a success. I recommend it to every priest, as well as to the women, laymen, and ex-priests who will find themselves included in the diverse ministries Bunnik envisions. The most helpful thing I can do here is sim-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ply pass on as many of his theses as space allows. This Dutch priest is dreaming good dreams.

The Christian ministry (a term to supersede "priesthood") should be demythologized. The minister, for example, is not "another Christ"; rather, he represents Christ to the world. The ministry should be declericalized: the sacred caste of cultic officers is to be replaced by a ministry of service.

Christ is the only priest, although every baptized person shares the "common priesthood." The common priesthood is more basic than the special ministry: every Christian offers true sacrifice. *Ordinarily,* the person who functions as minister in the community will preside at the Eucharistic commemoration of Christ's sacrifice. His presence, however, is not intrinsically necessary: "the power to celebrate the Eucharist is bestowed in principle on the common priesthood."

The ministry is a function rather than a life-situation. A man is a minister if, when, and insofar as he ministers. There is no mysterious thing that he "is," beyond what he "does." And that is the only difference between minister and layman—the minister has a special manner of doing things, in that he "represents the Lord." In content, his activities do not differ from the layman's: both are called "to offer, to proclaim, to promote the internal life of the Church." It will be quite natural, therefore, to have part-time ministers and worker-priests.

The ministry is an "internal service" to the Church. But this is not its primary apostolic activity. The latter "does not consist in ecclesiastical ministerial functions, but in the labor of all Christians within the community of human beings, in what Schillebeeckx calls 'apostolic secularity.' " The world comes first; the Church is merely for the world. The minister helps equip Christians for their "service to the world, preparing, inspiring, and guiding their 'apostolic secularity.' "

There is no immutable form of ministry. It all depends on the particular needs of the given community at any time. The *world* writes the minister's agenda—not Canon Law. This notion, coupled with that of the ministry as function, can lead to all kinds of innovations in the work of ministers.

The ecumenical openings in these suggestions are easy to see. Even more ecumenical are Bunnik's plea for women in the ministry and optional marriage for ministers. (His criticisms of obligatory celibacy are given with greater historical and theological detail in *Cross Currents,* Fall 1965 and Winter 1966.) Compared with Karl Rahner's defense of celibacy in his *Servants of the Lord,* Bunnik's position seems much more plausibly—and calmly—argued. Bunnik is dreaming, Rahner is running a fever.

Equally good are Bunnik's thoughts on ministers who leave the ministry. When a minister decides that he no longer wishes (for whatever sound reason) to continue ministerial work, he just returns to the community as a member in good standing—with no stigma or sense of failure. It is not a question of looking back after putting the hand to the plow, but of changing plows or perhaps investing in a tractor.

Finally, Bunnik's way of dealing with some of Vatican II's inadequacies is very refreshing. His criticisms of *Lumen Gentium,* for example, are quite in order. Theology—and life—is already about three generations beyond the council.

Soka Gakkai: Japan's Military Buddhists

NOAH S. BRANNEN

John Knox, $5.50

MICHAEL GALLAGHER

A few months ago, when I ventured out of my Manhattan apartment one evening for a quart of milk, I found myself accosted by a thin, little oriental girl, who asked me in a style of tortured English that instantly revealed that she was Japanese if I wouldn't like to attend a meeting in the neighborhood at which some very wonderful

Announcing a New
PROGRAM OF THEOLOGY
at the
University of Notre Dame

The Department of Theology and the Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame announces a new, three year, graduate program, leading to the Master of Theology (M. Th.) degree. This program is designed to prepare students for learned and effective ministry in the Church today. It is thus professional rather than academic. Applicants must hold a bachelor's degree from an accredited university or college and at least 18 credits in philosophy. It is expected that most students will be candidates for the priesthood in the Catholic Church. However the program is designed for any person intending Christian public service, and applications will be received from both men and women of any Christian Church. For further information write:

Director: Professional Program
Department of Theology
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556
(219) 283-6551

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and interesting things would be discussed. This girl and here three or four companions were members of Soka Gakkai, the Buddhist lay organization that claims the allegiance of some sixteen million Japanese and which through its political arm has risen to become the third most powerful group in the Diet. So here they were, missionaries sent to convert Americans to the one true faith of Nichiren Sho, hard at work, ironically enough, a bare few yards away from my parish church, whose moribund activities utterly precluded anything so strenuous as scrambling after converts on street corners.

I recommend, then, Noah S. Brannen's *Soka Gakkai: Japan's Militant Buddhists* to anyone who might have had an experience similar to mine as well as to all those interested in Japan and the various ramifications of the ideological-religious vacuum existing within it since the defeat of 1945, a time when the sacrosanct system of ethics inculcated throughout the educational system lost its vivifying principle with the Emperor's declaration of his own mortality and was formally abolished by the Occupation authorities.

FORMER CLERGY AND RELIGIOUS

Our agency now has available qualified placement personnel to aid you in your transition to secular life. A wide variety of career positions await you in business, science, education, personnel, including corporate personnel counseling.

All fees paid by company

SPECIALIST

180 B'way, NYC 10038
(212) 349-2606 (agency)

Classified

● **RATES: 50¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines: $3.00 a line. Discounts: 5%, 3 times; 10%, 7 times; 15%, 13 times. Payable with order.**

Retreat Community

● **WHO WOULD LIKE to join and help us build an evangelical-catholic, ecumenical-liturgical, interracial and international retreat community in Southwest Wisconsin devoted to effective interpersonal and social change by non-violent means? Write, Box 530, Commonweal.**

Student Supervisors

● **SUPERVISORS REQUIRED for Catholic co-educational high school residence for Eskimo-Indian students in Northern Canada. Salary $5,000 plus allowances. Send resume and references to Rector, GRANDIN COLLEGE, Fort Smith, N.W.T., Canada.**

Inter-Faith Contemplatives

● **APPLICATIONS now being considered for lay or professed participants for inter-faith farming community near Montreal, Quebec, centered around Tibetan Buddhist, Hindu and Christian contemplatives. L. PARSONS, 4517 Melrose Ave., Montreal 29, Canada.**

Mr. Brannen, a Baptist minister with a doctorate in linguistics from the University of Michigan, is a longtime resident of Japan. Furthermore, a thorough knowledge of traditional Buddhism and a rare degree of skill in both spoken and written Japanese make him well qualified to present an account of Soka Gakkai in this the first book in English on the subject.

Though leavened with anecdotes, Mr. Brannen's general style is factual, often scholarly as he traces the development of Soka Gakkai from its early affiliation with Nichiren Sho, one of the two traditional Buddhist sects claiming to be the heir of the militant 13th century reformer, Nichiren, to its present position of power and eminence.

Makiguchi and Toda, for practical purposes the first and second founders of Soka Gakkai, were, as Mr. Brannen illustrates with generous use of primary sources, men of quite another sort than the complacent temple priests, secure in their sinecures and warmed by the adulation of their disciples. Diverse as the two men were in character, they both were gifted with charismatic fervor, especially Toda, who possessed to a remarkable degree the humanity and common touch that the clerics lacked.

I would, incidentally, like to offer two considerations for those who might question how a Christian missionary could possibly write objectively of a Buddhist group as powerful and threateningly militant as Soka Gakkai. First, only a man who takes religion seriously as a force capable of motivating human action is, I believe, likely to be sufficiently perceptive to evaluate the implications of the Soka Gakkai phenomenon. (I've been somewhat amused to note with what regularity over the past few years so many secular Japanese experts have been writing Soka Gakkai off as having reached its peak.) Secondly, in one section towards the end of his book, Mr. Brannen writes with no pretense of objectivity; but the sincerity with which he expresses himself here is, I believe, more than sufficient testimony to the validity of his account throughout.

Here he relates the personal reflections he had put down on paper while staying at an inn in the town of Taisekiji, the location of the principal temple of Nichiren Sho. After long days of observing the fervor and devotion of the constant stream of Soka Gakkai pilgrims from all over Japan, he thinks about his own faith and its significance both to him and to the world. His honest probing of himself and his motivation is quite reminiscent of the reflections of the great 17th century Jesuit Matteo Ricci as he made his way up the great river, through a vast, alien land, towards Peking.

Mr. Brannen's book, then, is a valuable contribution, not only for those wanting to understand the Japan now evolving but also for all those concerned with the present crisis in the Church's understanding of its missionary role.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

STAUGHTON LYND is the author of *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism.*

WARREN COFFEY teaches English Literature at the University of San Francisco.

FATHER ANSELM ATKINS, O.C.S.O., has written for *Cross Currents, Continuum* and others.

MICHAEL GALLAGHER translated *The Pornographers* by Akiyuki Nozaka (Knopf).

CORRESPONDENCE

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

(Continued from page 331)

judge. It is the complete investigation of the police department, and the evidence taken before the magistrate or grand jury to establish probable cause. The prosecutor's version is not "unchallenged." Every defendant charged with serious crime is represented by a lawyer and it is his duty to challenge the prosecutor's version if it is not the truth. Most of the information in the article is nonsense presented by a man who does not know what he is talking about.

JOSEPH A. BALL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reply

It must be noted immediately that Mr. Ball does not address himself to the thesis of the article. He does, however, suggest that I am full of "nonsense." The thesis, to restate, is simply that trial by jury is the exception and not the rule in the administration of American criminal justice. That is *fact,* not nonsense.

Other problems presented by Mr. Ball's letter are discussed point-by-point as follows: (1) I am not a practicing attorney and I have never been charged with a felony. Hence, I do lack "practical" experience. However, a year's field research which included observations of all phases of the criminal process and interviews with all principal participants does offer, I believe, some degree of qualification for my statements.

(2) As to my alleged assumption that plea-negotiation is carried out in "secret," my point is substantiated by, among various sources, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice, *Task Force Report: The Courts, pp. 9-11.*

(3) I am delighted to read that the California administration of criminal justice is in the forefront of the struggle to remove the inequities of the plea-negotiation process as indicated by Mr. Ball's comments. However, to generalize from California to the other forty-nine states is hardly cricket.

(4) Mr. Ball states: "There are no pressures asserted to obtain a guilty plea that I know of." I have witnessed many pressures to obtain a guilty plea in my research. Further, the statement is patently absurd not only in the light of extensive documentation to the contrary but also in respect to any realistic assessment of human nature. Further, coming from an attorney who appeared as *amicus* on behalf of the state of California in *People* v. *Dorado,* 62 Cal. 2d. 338 (1964), it is a little hard to accept as a statement of fact. In *Dorado,* the California Supreme Court invoked *Miranda*-type rules within its jurisdiction—note this is much earlier than the *Miranda* case. Mr. Ball apparently appeared in the case as a friend of the court on behalf of the State, i.e., arguing against the rules.

(5) What is most dismaying about Mr. Ball's letter is his refusal to meet fact with fact and thereby continue to allow the myth of jury trials for all to continue. The simple, hard, and perhaps cruel fact is that most criminal defendants do not receive a trial by jury and that our system could not tolerate any sizable increase in those who demand or assert their basic Constitutional right. Could it be that the people are not to be trusted with the reality of the American system of criminal justice and that we must perpetuate the myth in much the same fashion as Plato directed his guardian class many years ago?

GERALD L. HALLWORTH

Stiff Necks!

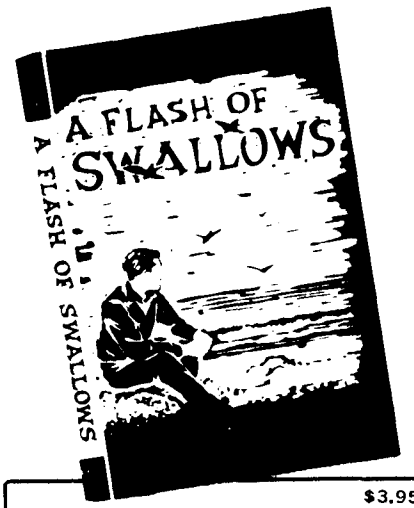
New York

To the Editors: I read with dismay that Bernard Haggin will no longer write for *Commonweal.* For all its political and theological styles and humor *Commonweal* cannot keep Haggin, a man of impeccable taste and perception. No one in this country writes so well about music. Catholics cannot, as a rule, pick out the beautiful in any thing. They stumble on their pieties. In the swamps of the "new Church" you are mired, I fear, forever. If I were an editor of *Commonweal* I'd retrieve Haggin at any cost. But you'd not know how, being as you are stiff-necked and puritanical in your aesthetics.

NED O'GORMAN

COMMONWEAL PAPERS

Commonweal Papers #1, 2, and 3, on God, Jesus and Holy Spirit, were widely praised when they appeared, and thousands of copies of extra issues were sold for classroom supplementary reading. All three *Papers* have now been published in book form as *God, Jesus, Spirit* by Herder and Herder with an introduction by Daniel Callahan. The book is available in hardcover at $8.50 and in paperback for $3.95.



$3.95

A FLASH OF SWALLOWS

By William Christopher Stevens

William Christopher Stevens is one of Australia's best known poets, whose eleven books have brought him a vast following "down under" where he also appears often on radio and television, reading his works.

This is his first volume of poetry published in the United States — an all-new collection including a group of poems growing out of his specifically American experiences.

There can be no question that William Christopher Stevens has several voices, several quite distinct styles — the ironic, the tender, the religious, the agnostic, the solemn, the playful, matter-of-fact, bitter, and wise.

This collection of Stevens' latest output makes it clear why he was last year's recipient of Australia's coveted Clavenger Award. William Christopher Stevens speaks with equal and striking authority to the young and the old, a not inconsiderable achievement in a troubled time.

"Not since John Berryman's 77 Dream Songs have I been so excited by a book of poetry."
— Lester Pockrell

"Upon reading these poems by Australia's startling rebel-poet one feels, as an American, humbly provincial. One may be forgiven for ignorance of the best work of moderns writing in French, German or, for that matter, Swahili. But how explain the lack of attention to a profoundly moving poet who communicates in one's own language?"
— C. D. Hawthorne

"The boiling, driving dynamism of W. C. Stevens is strikingly disguised in an almost nonchalant, colloquial tone that time and again brings the reader up short, either startled or refreshed. Make no mistake, Stevens is a formidable poetic voice."
— W. R. Eversen

DROKE HOUSE, *Publishers*
Anderson, South Carolina

Distributed by
Grosset and Dunlap
51 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Did You Miss . . . .

Kathy Mulherin **on California's Academic Fault**

Eugene C. Bianchi **on Resistance in the Church**

Stanley Hoffmann **on The Lesson of Vietnam**

Maurice Berube **on Black Power and the Learning Process**

Leslie Dewart **on The Meaning of Religious Belief**

Murray Polner **on The Army and Constitutional Rights**

John T. Pawlikowski **on The Challenge to Jewish-Christian Relations**

Harvey Cox **on Issues for the 70's**

. . . in recent issues of Commonweal?

Send coupon for such timely comment on questions of the day at a saving of $3.95 from the cost of single copies.

---

17 Issues for $2

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016

Please send an introductory, two-dollar trial subscription to:

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

City . . . . . **State** . . . . . **Zip Code** . . . . . .

☐ **I prefer the regular one-year subscription at $10.** **6/6/69**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED